

Nawab Sir Salimullah Bahadur who, however, was decorated with the title of G.C.I.E., as "a bait, a bribe and a halter of disgrace" round his neck, as he himself put it in deep resentment. Sir Salimullah died with a broken heart in 1915. Till his death, he nurtured the pet child of his creation—the Bengal Provincial Muslim League which, later, suffered from lack of able guidance. The death of Sir Salimullah was a terrible blow to Bengal and a great loss to Muslim India.

Certain international events in Islamic world moved Muslim India to its depths. The massacre of Muslims in Tripoli by the Italians in 1911 and the Balkan War in 1912 caused great resentment in Muslim India. The Cawnpore Mosque demolition in August, 1913, and the tragedy that followed from police fire also caused All-India commotion amongst the Muslims. The appeal for help to the Muslims of Macedonia massacred by the Christian Powers of the Balkan States, in the shape of "Come Over To Macedonia And Help Us", had its repercussions in the forfeiture of the security of Maulana Muhammad Ali's COMRADE. Efforts for helping Turkey with money for the Red Crescent Mission, under the leadership of Dr. M. A. Ansari, also roused Muslim India considerably.

Jinnah joins League

In 1921, the Muslim leaders met at Lucknow for considering a change in the League creed. Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, then a Radical Congressite, also joined the Convention on invitation. Mr. Jinnah was even then a force to reckon with. The creed and constitution of the League were changed into "attainment of self-government for India along with other communities" at the Lucknow session in March, 1913. Mr. Jinnah was then persuaded to join the League, which he did subject to the reservation that in matters affecting the wider interests of the country, he would be with the Congress. Through the efforts of Mr. Jinnah, and other protagonists of Hindu-Muslim unity, the Congress and the League began to hold their annual sessions at the same place

from 1915 at Bombay to 1921. Mr. Jinnah was then the most outstanding link between the League and the Congress.

The Lucknow Pact was implemented in 1916 under which the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab, the former in particular, agreed to considerable sacrifice for the sake of their brethren in Muslim minority provinces, and out of their desire for settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. This Pact between the Congress and the League was the result of earnest efforts on the part of realistic politicians like Messrs Gokhale, Jinnah and others. Mr. Gokhale, of course, died in 1915 but he worked hard and earnestly for Hindu Muslim concordat till his death. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, then a Congressite, acquiesced in the arrangement, but the late Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Choudhury insisted on 50 per cent seats to the Muslims of Bengal which they certainly deserved. But the Muslims of Bengal got 37 seats whereas the Hindus got 70 seats. The arrangement was undoubtedly inequitable. But Muslim Bengal had to accept *fiat accompli*, as the leaders, including Mr. Huq, had agreed.

The Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwalla Bagh Tragedy and the Khilafat Movement brought the Muslims and Hindus closer together, so much so that thousands of Muslims joined the Congress and the Non-Cooperation Movement, inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi. The Ali Brothers and other Muslim leaders threw themselves heart and soul into the Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements, which led to the terrible tragedies at Chauri Chaura, Madras and Bombay. Mr. Gandhi cried halt and fasted. These movements collapsed but the Hindu Mahasabha then raised its head with ideas like "Hindustan for the Hindus", etc.—ideas which made the Muslims wary. Till 1927, the Ali Brothers, Dr. Ansari and others clung to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. In 1927, Dr. Ansari presided over the Madras session of the Congress in which the Independence of India Resolution was adopted on the motion of Maulana Hasrat

Mohani.

Disillusionment

In 1928, the Nehru Report was out with the demands of India formulated therein, together with what the Muslims might expect from the Nehru Scheme of Government. The Madras resolution of Independence at the instance and under the presidency of two Muslim leaders was scraped at the Calcutta session of the Congress, presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru, with the blessing and under the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi himself. Dominion Status was adopted as the goal of India. Next year, however, complete Independence was once again adopted as the goal of the Congress, presided over by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. For these curious and rapid changes, it is difficult to assign reasons except that independence, soiled with Muslim hands, was not acceptable to the Congress nationalists.

The Nehru Report denied the Muslims the right of separate electorates. It did not even concede to the Muslims their rightful dues. The dream of Maulana Muhammad Ali and others was shattered. They washed their hands clean of the Congress. Mr. Jinnah had already left the Congress in disgust. Only a handful of self-deluded Muslims still clung to the Congress.

Muslim Demands

Mr. Jinnah had already formulated the Muslim demands under the now-famous 14 points. The Convention of Muslim leaders in March 1927, ratified Mr. Jinnah's points with two more additions regarding separation of Sind from Bombay and reforms in the N.W.F. and Beluchistan. The Nehru Report, however, rejected the main demands of separate electorates, territorial integrity of the Muslim-majority provinces etc. This rejection disillusioned the Muslims of India still further. It was crystal clear that the Congress or Hindu India was determined to establish *Hindu Raj* in India under the camouflage of *Swaraj* or "complete independence", call it by whatever name you please. The Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha were the same so

far as the Muslim rights and aspirations were concerned.

Then came the Round Table Conferences in London. The Congress abstained at first but later participated through Mr. Gandhi, the sole representative of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi sought to bluff the Muslims by the bait of a blank cheque which was never signed. Nor could it be cashed, if signed. The Hindus refused to budge from the Nehru Report, which, if implemented, would be as good as "*Khalq Khoda ki, Mulk Angrez ka, Hukm Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur ka*," as so pithily put by Maulana Muhammad Ali of blessed memory, the "prophet of nationalism" who never returned to slave India from England where he went to attend the Round Table Conferences. The Muslims, however, did not agree to forego the points embodied in the Jinnah Formula. Sir Chimanlal Setalbad alone amongst the Hindu delegates pleaded for meeting the just demands of the Muslims, but in vain.

Communal Award

Impasse followed. On the 14th of November, 1931, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other Hindu leaders agreed in writing to abide by the award of the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, regarding the communal issue, in the following terms: "*With reference to your offer made yesterday to members of the Minorities Committee we have decided to approach you with a request and a promise. We request you that, in order to enable the work of the Federal Structure Committee to be continued and completed, and report on the remaining subject considered, you will kindly undertake to arbitrate on the communal issue as affecting the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. We shall abide by your decision and recommend the same course to those we represent.*" Thus came the Communal Award which can only be altered by agreement amongst the parties concerned, as was done under the Poona Pact after Mr. Gandhi's historic fast, ostensibly for the Harijans but really to keep Hindu India undivided statutorily.

The Reforms of 1935 came. Mr. Jinnah was persuaded back
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